THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 234.

DINNER GIVEN TO MR. COBBETT, AND THE FALSE CLAIMS OF HIM AND OF OTHERS TO BE CONSIDERED MEN OF PATRIOTISM.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

The danger and dishonour with which a good cause is threatened by such conduct as that we have described in the instance of Mr. COBBETT, must forcibly strike it's better advocates upon the most superficial reflection. The duties of a true Reformist have been more than once explained in this Paper; but the injuries done to Reform by men of a different description have never presented themselves in so strong and concentrated a light as in the late conduct and language of him and some of his friends; and the best mode of drawing the distinction between the false Reformist and the true, will be by shewing in what manner and to what extent the former not only forfeits his claim to the other character, but absolutely incapacitates himself from doing what it requires.

To repeat the duties of a Reformist in as general and summary a manner as possible,—they may be reduced into three heads;—one respecting himself; another his fellow-advocates or his own cause; and the third his adversaries or the opposite cause. With regard to himself, his conduct, both public and private, should be worthy of a spirit which professes a more than common ardour for the general and individual good of his countrymen, that is to say, it should be the reverse of what is unbecoming, interested, and tyrannical;—with regard to his fellow-advocates or his own cause (without meaning to identify the two) he should be frank, impartial, uncorrupt, an acknowledger and withstander of faults, a lover of the cause more than of the advocate;—and with regard to his adversaries or the opposite cause, in addition to all the impartiality which it is possible for such opposition to feel, he should be impregnable to bribery as to assault, disinterested both in lashing and in sparing the lash, laying himself open to no great wounds of recrimination, calm, fearless, highminded.—Here is no imaginary excellence, which it is out of the power of feeble humanity to attain,—no solid impossibilities for frailty,—none of that impossible perfection of which Sir FRANCIS BURDETT,—with what feelings is best known to himself,—chose to talk the other day as so unfair a demand upon the Reformists. Nobody demands perfection of the Reformists;—and no Reformist, with the least sense of his human nature, would pretend to it; but either Reform is not the fine, necessary, and patriotic thing which Sir FRANCIS describes it to be, and may therefore be advocated without a blush by all sorts of vicious and foolish persons, who disgrace and endanger it,—or it is really such as he describes it, and therefore should demand a becoming spirit and solidity in those who undertake to be it's supporters. A man, it is said, may think rightly and feel a right principle, though he acts wrongly. How far such a distinction would be warrantable upon close inspection, except in cases of momentary passion, or where a man who is enthralled in his vices has become sensible of what he finds it difficult to shake off, is doubtful. We naturally pursue what we think best for us; and however we may talk of approving the right while we follow the wrong, it is creditable to our common sense to suppose, that we know little or nothing about the matter. Thus much may at least be ascertained from the lives of the most eminent students in morals,—and it is perhaps the most delightful truth that the history of the human mind has afforded us,—that the greatest knowledge of what is right has been almost uniformly accompanied by the greatest practice of what is virtuous. However, not to digress into a chit-chat of ethics, and not to insist upon any positive virtues which the greatest latitudinarian in Reform could think foreign to the purpose, there are negative duties from which nobody in his senses would wish to exempt a Reformist. It might be allowed Mr. COBBETT perhaps, considering his habits of mind, and notwithstanding his reforming pretensions, to refuse being measured by the standard above described; it might be allowed him to say, in answer to a question why he was not decent, that he did not pretend to be perfect,—that swearing, for instance, was a manly and refreshing practice, and that to call people in turns, all sorts of vile names, and to talk in the language of Billingsgate, was what should be expected of a man of his feelings; but allowing him the full benefit of all such enviable privileges, and passing over his horror at having the smallest of his own appellations returned upon his head, even Mr. COBBETT would not undertake to say, that in the course of his writings he was at liberty to be silent about whatever he chose, or that he had a right to make two standards of propriety, one for his friends and one for his enemies; or that he might injure the cause he was defending by imitating some of the worst practices of its opponents:—and yet all this is what he, and other such pretended Reformists, not only put in practice from inclination, but are eventually compelled to do by the vulgarity and pettiness of their corporate spirit.

The very least, for instance, which can be expected of one who stands out in the nation to expose corruption, is, first, that he should denounce every thing that it is fit for the country's interests to denounce; and second, that he should not exhibit in his own person the corruptions which it

is his duty so to expose. Now, to recur at once to a fertile and comprehensive set of examples,—that of the Stewards at the Crown and Anchor,—with what face, after meeting to sanction the past conduct of Mr. Cobbett as a Reformist, could these men denounce the most violent extremes in an individual's politics,—or reprobate an attempt to support their cause by vulgarity and shuffling,—or express their contempt at one who should go whining to prison? Then to come to them as individuals,—with what face could such a man as Clifford inveigh against the bad habits of a Ruler, —or the Proprietor of the *Independent Whig* call himself independent,—or the Bristol Candidate recommend people to be commonly decent,—or Mr. Cobbett himself talk of consistency, courage, or truth? One would willingly omit the Chairman of the feast, and forget that he was in such company, especially as it may yet be hoped that a better taste and experience will help him out of it; but people have not failed to observe, that Sir Francis Burdett never ventures to say a syllable respecting the private vices of the Great, which are nevertheless the main sources of public corruption. He was warned by this Paper, three years ago, against hampering himself with unworthy connexions; and he now feels,—or still worse perhaps, is regardless of the restrictions they cast on him in performing his public duty; for how is the panegyrist who can find no fault in Mr. Tooke,—or who at any rate chuses to be silent about it,—to rise up and exclaim against the bad habits of men whose ignorance renders them comparatively excusable? How is he who thinks vice should be overlooked on his own side of the question, to bring it into proper exposure on the other? How is he who patronizes the Cliffords, Cobbetts, and Bristol Demagogues, to speak of temperance in any shape, as a virtue that becomes a patriot and invigorates a state? No: not a word can people so hampered with each other venture to say against the faults and vices to be found among themselves; —nay, and not only so, but unless they are impudent beyond measure, not a word can they venture to say even in praise of the virtues which are implied by a freedom from those vices; since they would thus be dealing satire about their own community, and defeating the designs of those conscious worthies who would willingly cheat the public into a false notion of their pretensions.

Nor is it sins of omission only, however grievous, of which demagogues thus mutually embarrassed are apt to be guilty. The worse part of them, from the consciousness that continually preys upon their minds, become callous to better feeling, and attempting to pass off their own impatience of opposition for an anxiety about the public welfare, confound the cause of Reform with every thing that is turbulent and unruly. It is true, they still continue to advocate the cause in general, even on it's better grounds; and it is not to be denied, that they may even feel it's utility and wish forward it's success; but the general character of [illegible] it's behalf becomes an angry and vulgar [illegible] more impatient of opposition as it concerns themselves than as it regards the country, and caring for nothing, self-interest excepted, if it can but meet with a congenial sort of hey-day vulgarity, and raise a cry of exultation over every body who differs with them, whether the difference is to bad purpose or to good. Thus you must go along with these men to the extremity of their nonsense and noise, or you are no true man of the people; while on the other hand, if you raise your voice against the vices that happen to touch themselves, they exclaim against the hard usage, and declare you can be no true friend to Reform.

The behaviour of Mr. Cobbett has been a complete exemplification of all these offences, both of omission and practice; and in his behaviour, will be seen an epitome of that of his advocates in general, as contradistinguished to the real advocates of Reform. He is sentenced to prison for what he conceives to be a just piece of invective against a great corruption; and here, then, was an opportunity to shew that he had a practical spirit worthy of the boldness of his writings; but the very thought of a gaol frightens him out of his wits, and he exhibits a dastardly conduct on the occasion, which is approved by the persons abovementioned, notwithstanding the very different feeling exhibited by Sir F. Burdett;—they are of course prepared to do the same on a similar emergency;—and so much for the courage of the Pseudo-Reformists. We pass over the questions respecting his intention of giving up his Paper, as having lately been discussed at large; but in that intention the public may see, at the very least, the fears and impatience with which he contemplated a continuance of his public services;—and so much for the reliance that is to be placed on the Pseudo-Reformists in an hour of danger.—While he is in prison, the Duke of York is reinstated in office, and the Prince Regent exhibits all those deplorable weaknesses, of which so much has been said by this Paper;—but not a word does our courageous captive utter upon either of these subjects, notwithstanding all that he had formerly said respecting the conduct of one Prince, and all that he must have felt of the anti-reforming proceedings of the other. It is said, that he had expectations from this forbearance, of a remission of part of his punishment; and it appears to be certain, that instead of being "afraid of softening his tone," as he professed he should be, he was afraid of keeping it up to it's former law-exciting pitch. If he really had the expectations alleged, his late raving resentment,—which was nevertheless of the safe description with all it's savageness,—is easily explained, for, at the expiration of his sentence, he was called upon to give the two securities, and pay the fine of a thousand pounds; so that he had the additional mortification of having "softened his tone" without gaining any benefit from the disgrace:—and so much for the public conscientiousness of the Pseudo-Reformists.—A short time before the expiration of this Sentence, and after he had been brooding for nearly two years over the horrors of it, the Minister is assas-

nated; and what is the first feeling that strikes every honourable mind in the nation? Horror at that atrocious deed, and shame for their humiliated country. Is this also the first feeling of Mr. Cobbett? Nobody knows, for he chose to delay his sentiments on the occasion till every body else had obeyed the natural impulse and expressed his; but when they came at last, they expressed what it has justly been hoped and believed that no other man in the kingdom expressed, a spirit touched with a new pleasure, a joyous recollection, an unequivocal and exulting delight. The Minister, no doubt, was justly to be denounced; but no commiseration, no forbearance, no self-respecting feeling of any sort was shewn for the man; and while his very person was criticised, and his corpse in a manner laid bare to be derided, the assassin was treated with the utmost tenderness, and almost held up to our applause and imitation! Nothing further need be said on this point;—and so much for the right spirit of the Pseudo-Reformists with regard to their enemies.—The last occurrence, that engaged Mr. Cobbett's attention, before the expiration of his imprisonment, was the Bristol election, at which two names happened to come in contact, as rival Reformists, which never could do so perhaps by any other chance,—Sir Samuel Romilly and the notorious Mr. Henry Hunt. He had here an opportunity, if he pleased, of shewing that he was not lost to all sense of an upright public spirit, by rising above a petty acquaintanceship and party feeling, and doing justice to the steady and luminous patriotism of this exemplary lawyer;—but no; he could not give up the congenial delights of vulgarity and an empty turbulence,—he could not forego the pleasure of supporting one man who appeared to set all decency at defiance out of mere stubbornness, neither could he pardon another, who presented to the world a contrast so obnoxious to the self-love and so fatal to the pretensions of those who would be thought Reformists; and accordingly, he had the unblushing absurdity to enter into a pretended comparison between the merits of the two men, and to pronounce sentence in favour of his wretched acquaintance. Nothing further need be said upon *this* point;—and so much for the right spirit of the Pseudo-Reformists with regard to their friends;—so much, in short, (to sum up the deductions from all these circumstances) for the courage, the consistency, the disinterestedness, the devotedness, and the high mind of this man and all the pretended Reformists that go with him, compared with the qualities that are endeavoured to be attained by those whose name they usurp.

From these details, and the comments that have accompanied them, in the course of the three *Examiners* on the subject, our readers have no doubt obtained sufficient means, if they did not already possess them, of making the proper distinctions between the two classes of Reformists: they are prepared, of course, to regard persons like Mr. Cobbett as of more injury to Reform by their corruptions, than they are to Corruption by their Reform; and so regarding them, they will see with pleasure and with happier anticipations, that such persons are fatally driven with ignominy from their pretensions, *and will hereafter afford no excuse to the Corruptionists for confounding them with a better cause.* Our readers will also, by this time, have become heartily tired of Mr. Cobbett's name, and all that is to be said about it;—and so are we. They cannot indeed conceive the presentiments of weariness and disgust, with which the Editor sat down to write upon such a subject, when writing upon any subject was painful to him, and when so many better ones were to be delayed by it's intrusion. But the task was necessary for the best interests of public spirit; and the recollection of it will be ever grateful to him for two associations with which it has been accompanied,—that of the most flattering abuse, and that of the most valuable and valued notice, with which it has ever been his good fortune to be sanctioned as a public writer.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

Washington, June 18, *four o'clock p. m.*—The Injunction of Secrecy was about an hour ago removed from the following Message and Act:—

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

I communicate to Congress certain documents, being a continuation of those heretofore laid before them, on the subject of our affairs with Great Britain.

Without going beyond the renewal, in 1803, of the war in which Great Britain is engaged, and omitting unrepaired wrongs of inferior magnitude, the conduct of her Government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation.

British cruizers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it, not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self-redress is assumed, which, if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible Sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects, in such cases, be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal, would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such trial, these rights are subjected to the will of every petty commander.

The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public laws and of their national flag, have been torn from their country, and from every thing dear to them,—have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United

States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations: and that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for continuance of the practice, the British Government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements, such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of the British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect.

British cruizers have been in the practice also of violating the rights and peace of our coasts. They hover and harass our entering and departing commerce. To the most insulting pretensions they have added lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. The principles and rules enforced by that nation, when a neutral nation, against armed vessels of belligerents hovering near her coasts, and disturbing her commerce, are well known. When called on, nevertheless, by the United States, to punish the greater offences committed by her own vessels, her Government has bestowed on their Commanders additional marks of honour and confidence.

Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force, and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea; the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets; and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggravation of these predatory measures, they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification; a retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued: and to render the outrage more signal, these mock blockades have been reiterated and enforced in the face of official communications from the British Government, declaring, as the true definition of a legal blockade, "that particular ports must be actually invested, and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter."

Not content with these occasional expedients for laying waste our neutral trade, the Cabinet of Great Britain resorted, at length, to the sweeping system of blockades, under the names of Orders in Council, which has been moulded and managed as might best suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of the British cruizers.

To our remonstrances against the complicated and transcendant injustice of this innovation, the first reply was, that the Orders were reluctantly adopted by Great Britain as a necessary retaliation on decrees of her enemy proclaiming a general blockade of the British Isles, at a time when the naval force of the enemy dared not to issue from his own ports. She was reminded, without effect, that her own prior blockades, unsupported by an adequate naval force actually applied and continued, were a bar to this plea; that executed edicts against millions of our property could not be retaliation on edicts confessedly impossible to be executed; that retaliation, to be just, should fall on the party setting the guilty example, not on an innocent party, which was not even chargeable with an acquiescence in it.

When deprived of this flimsy veil for a prohibition of our trade with Great Britain, her Cabinet, instead of a corresponding repeal, or a practical discontinuance of its Orders, formally avowed a determination to persist in them against the United States, until the markets of her enemy should be laid open to the British products; thus asserting an obligation on a neutral power to require one belligerent to encourage, by its internal regulations, the trade of another belligerent; contradicting her own practice towards all nations in peace as well as in war; and betraying the insincerity of those professions which inculcated a belief, that, having resorted to her Orders with regret, she was anxious to find an occasion for putting an end to them.

Abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States, and for its own consistency, the British Government now demands, as pre-requisites to a repeal of its Orders, as they relate to the United States, that a formality should be observed in the repeal of the French Decrees nowise necessary to their termination, nor exemplified by British usage; and that the French repeal, besides including that portion of the Decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that which operates on the high seas against the commerce of the United States, should not be a single special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations unconnected with them may be affected by those Decrees.

And as an additional insult, they are called on for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretensions advanced by the French Government, for which the United States are so far from having been themselves responsible, that, in official explanations which have been published to the world, and in a Correspondence of the American Minister at London with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed.

It has become, indeed, sufficiently certain that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with the belligerent rights of Great Britain—not as supplying the wants of their enemies, which she herself supplies—but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend, that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy,—a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed.

Anxious to make every experiment short of the last resort of injured nations, the United States have withheld from Great Britain, under successive modifications, the benefits of a free intercourse with their market, the loss of which could not but outweigh the profits accruing from her restrictions of our commerce with other nations. And to entitle those experiments to the more favourable consideration, they were so framed as to enable her to place her adversary under the exclusive operation of them. To these appeals her Government has been equally inflexible, as if willing to make sacrifices of every sort, rather than yield to the claims of justice, or renounce the errors of a false pride. Nay, so far were the attempts carried to overcome the attachment of the British Cabinet to its unjust edicts, that it received every encouragement, within the competency of the executive branch of our Government, to expect that a repeal of them would be followed by a war between the United States and France, unless the French edicts should also be repealed. Even this communication, although silencing for ever the plea of a disposition in the United States to acquiesce in those edicts, originally the sole plea for them, received no attention.

If no other proof existed of a predetermination of the British Government against a repeal of its Orders, it might be found in the Correspondence of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in 1810, on the question whether the blockade of May, 1806, was considered in force or not in force. It had been ascertained that the French Government, which urged this blockade as the ground of its decree, was willing, in the event of its removal, to repeal that Decree; which being followed by alternate repeals of the other offensive edicts, might abolish the whole system on both sides. This inviting opportunity for accomplishing an object so important to the United States, and professed so often to be the desire of both the belligerents, was made known to the British Government. As that Government admits that an actual application of an adequate force is necessary to the existence of a legal blockade, and it was notorious that if such a force had ever been applied, its long discontinuance had annulled the blockade in question, there could be no sufficient objection on the part of Great Britain to a formal revocation of it; and no imaginable objection to a declaration of the fact that the blockade did not exist. The declaration would have been consistent with her avowed principles of blockade, and would have enabled the United States to demand from France the pledged repeal of her Decrees; either with success—in which case the way would have been opened for a general repeal of the Belligerent Edicts; or without success—in which case the United States would have been justified in turning their measures exclusively against France. The British Government would, however, neither rescind the blockade, nor declare its non-existence, nor permit its non-

existence to be inferred and affirmed by the American Plenipotentiary. On the contrary, by representing the blockade to be comprehended in the Orders in Council, the United States were compelled so to regard it in their subsequent proceedings.

There was a period, when a favourable change in the policy of the British Cabinet was justly considered as established. The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty here proposed an adjustment of the differences more immediately endangering the harmony of the two countries. The proposition was accepted with a promptitude and cordiality corresponding with the invariable professions of this Government. A foundation appeared to be laid for a sincere and lasting reconciliation. The prospect, however, quickly vanished. The whole proceeding was disavowed by the British Government, without any explanation which could at that time repress the belief, that the disavowal proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the commercial rights and prosperity of the United States; and it has since come into proof, that, at the very moment when the public Minister was holding the language of friendship, and inspired confidence in the sincerity of the negociation with which he was charged, a secret Agent of his Government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our Government, and a dismemberment of our happy Union.

In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the Savages on one of our extensive frontiers; a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex, and to be distinguished by features particularly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among the tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence; and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that Government.

Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might at least have been expected, that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations, or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found in its true interests alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas; that an enlarged policy would have favoured the free and general circulation of commerce, in which the British nation is at all times interested, and which in times of war is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself, as well as the other belligerents; and more especially, that the British Cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, have persevered in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.

Other councils have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance, and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence committed on the great and common highway of nations, even within the sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts, and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets; whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States; and, on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain.

Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs, or, opposing force to force in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events, avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honourable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the Constitution wisely confides to the Legislative Department of the Government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance, that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation.

Having presented this view of the relations of the United States with Great Britain, and of the solemn alternative growing out of them, I proceed to remark, that the communications last made to Congress on the subject of our relations with France, will have shewn, that since the revocation of her Decrees as they violated the neutral rights of the United States, her Government has authorised illegal captures by its privateers and public ships; and that other outrages have been practised on our vessels and our citizens. It will have been seen, also, that no indemnity had been provided, or satisfactorily pledged, for the extensive spoliations committed under the violent and retrospective Order of the French Government against the property of our citizens seized within the jurisdiction of France.

I abstain at this time from recommending to the consideration of Congress definitive measures with respect to that nation, in the expectation, that the result of the unclosed discussions between our Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris and the French Government, will speedily enable Congress to decide with greater advantage on the course due to the rights, the interests, the honour of our country. JAMES MADISON.

Washington, June 1, 1812.

AN ACT,

DECLARING WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND THE DEPENDENCIES THEREOF, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THEIR TERRITORIES.

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that War be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States be and is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval forces of the United States, to carry the same into effect; and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, Commissions or Letters of Marque and general Reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the Seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof. JAMES MADISON.

June 18, 1812.—Approved.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The following Proclamation has been issued by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies:—

"Whereas the Government of the United States of America, by an Act of Congress on the 18th day of June last, has declared war against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and it is expedient that this Act should be made as public as possible, in the province under my government; I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, in order to make known the said Declaration, that his Majesty's subjects, having this notice, may govern themselves accordingly.

"J. C. SHERBROOKE."

PROVINCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

ASSIZES.

SUFFOLK.—These Assizes commenced on Thursday, at Bury St. Edmunds. Although there were only eleven prisoners on

the Calendar, eight of them were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death.

MELLIS *v.* BAKER.—This was an action brought against the defendant for *crim. con.* with the plaintiff's wife. It appearing in evidence that the plaintiff's wife was not one of the most prudent or chaste of women, his Lordship told the Jury they were not to give large damages; however, the Jury retired for a few minutes, and returned a verdict for one hundred and fifty pounds damages.

SURREY, JULY 28.—THE KING *v.* AGG.—This was an indictment against the Editor of the Magazine, called *Town Talk*, for a libel on Thomas Best, Esq.—The libel was contained in the first number of that work, and was in the shape of the biography of Mr. Best, whom it represented as the chere amie of Mrs. Clarke. It stated him to have been born of honest parents in Barbadoes, where his youth had been spent in flogging and torturing negroes; that he came to this country for education, but was as ignorant as a barbarian; that his habits were profligate, and as a gamester he used unfair practices, and was given to greeking in playing foul; that he had wantonly killed Lord C——, an amiable Nobleman, in a duel; and that his wife had left him for a more deserving object.—Mr. C. Harrison, the Attorney, proved that he bought the book in question of Redford, the printer, and he told him at the time he meant to prosecute for Mr. Best. Redford referred to Agg, who resided within the Rules of the Bench. He applied to Agg to give up the author, but he refused; and observed, it was of little use for Mr Best to proceed against him by law, for he was a prisoner within the Rules as well as himself, and could pay no damages.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, however little respect might be due to either party, there was yet a respect due to the laws of the country; *even the most profligate must not be libelled*, for if that could be endured, it would lead to endless breaches of the peace, as those who did not find protection in the law would be driven to be the assertors of their own redress. The publication in question had not been denied to be a libel, and could not be denied to be one. They must therefore find the defendant guilty.—Verdict—Guilty.

GUILDFORD, JULY 30.—THE KING *v.* WEATHERSTONE.—This was an indictment against the defendant for a nuisance, in erecting a soap manufactory in the Kent Road, near the Elephant and Castle, to the annoyance of all his neighbours. Several witnesses residing in the immediate neighbourhood were called, who proved that the stench was so intolerable that their houses were rendered quite uninhabitable. The place where the manufactory was built was formerly a stable yard, surrounded by respectable houses, which, since the opening of the soap manufactory, had been much annoyed. This case being proved by several witnesses, Mr. Serjeant BEST, for the defendant, contended, that the factory was in an unobjectionable situation; that the business must be carried on somewhere, and there was not a less objectionable spot to be found, inasmuch as it was surrounded by manufactories of a like nature; that the smell of the soap-maker was blended with that of a varnish-maker, a catgut-maker, a tanner, a tallow-chandler, who were all fixed in the same spot, and that his client only added a little to the odoriferous smells already planted there. He accordingly examined whether these trades did not also incommode the neighbourhood by their smells.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that although a man was half killed by one stink, it was no warrant for another to kill him outright with another, and the fact of the nuisance was clearly proved; but as it was desirable at all times not to destroy a manufactory on which great sums had perhaps been expended, he wished that it should be inspected by competent persons, who might point out such modes of working as might reduce the annoyance. The defendant was accordingly found guilty, with an undertaking on his part, that he would in future conduct his business in a manner to be pointed out by two persons named, so as not to annoy his neighbours.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT FOR JULY.

The latter hay-harvest is scarcely yet finished in many parts; the quantity as great as ever known, but most of it damaged, and of inferior condition. The turnip lands have worked well, but sowing is not yet completed; the forward turnips and cabbages appear healthy. The fallows in a mellow and friable state. All lands throughout the island, capable of growing a crop of corn, have been applied to that purpose.—The stoutest wheats have been a good deal beaten down by the rains and thunder-storms, whilst the light crops upon poor lands have been apparently improved. Mildew and smut have been discovered within the last fortnight, with a considerable quantity of brands or burnt ears. The mildew or blue mould has been early and universal upon the corn this year, although unnoticed till of late; but, as far as the limitted personal inspection of the present reporter has extended, corn has never been more clean and free from vermin and impurities, under such circumstances, than in the present season. This is probably to be attributed to the unusual mildness of the N. E. winds, and to their short intervals of duration, although so frequent, a circumstance most favourable and preservative of the crop of wheat. In various parts the crops in general are most luxuriant and bulky, and a friend from the coast of Sussex boasts of long and large ears of wheat, with great plenty of them. Throughout the country the ears of wheat are said to be of mederate size, and the promise for both corn and straw to be considerable. Chilling N. E. winds have detracted much from the present, which might otherwise have been the largest crop of corn grown in this country. Rye among the best of the crops, and harvest expected within a fortnight in the forwardest counties. Accounts of harvest in foreign parts thus far satisfactory. Heavy complaints from too many quarters of tenantcy-at-will and short leases, those lamentable preventions of improvement, and poisoners at the very source of public and private interest. Rent as high as the times will bear, but long leases, the power of transfer, no obligation to summer fallow, and no pettifogger's restrictions. The above complaints are mixed with high encomiums upon certain landlords, most particularly of Norfolk and Scotland.—Of potatoes the report is generally satisfactory. The fruits much blighted, and the same malady must necessarily have extended to the hops. The wool trade at a stand, nothing having transpired at any of the marts as a sufficient guide. The oak bark harvest was successfully finished. Rape a good crop.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 27.

The Toleration Bill was passed.

PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE BILL.

This Bill was read a third time and passed, after an ineffectual opposition from Lords Stanhope and Holland; the latter proposed three amendments, but they were all rejected.

LORD CASTLEREAGH.

In the course of the above debate, Earl CAMDEN (under whose administration, be it remembered, the hideous atrocities,—the torturing and half-hanging system,—prevailed in Ireland) observed, that "he highly approved of the Bill in all its parts; but would not have deviated from his usual course of giving a silent vote, had not some remarks fallen from a Noble Lord (Holland), which it was necessary for him to notice. It had been complained that the conduct of the Government, of which he (Lord Camden) was the head, was unwarrantable;

that measures of unjustifiable severity had been resorted to. The usual accusations against the Executive Authority of that day was, that steps of a firm and decisive nature were not taken sufficiently early; but for whatever blame attached on either account, he (Lord Camden) was perfectly ready to be responsible. He could not, however, in candour allow that those who were not concerned should suffer unmerited odium. A Noble Viscount (Castlereagh), whose name was always coupled with some epithet of cruelty, when the affairs of Ireland, of that day, were referred to, bore no share of the Government, but was only an active and zealous Magistrate, to whom Ireland was much indebted for his exertions, not only for her tranquillity then, but for her subsequent welfare. The obloquy that had been thrown on that deserving personage was entirely unmerited: and his Lordship rejoiced in having this opportunity of bearing testimony to the acknowledged abilities, and to the *mild and conciliatory disposition* of his Noble Friend."—The Earl of LIVERPOOL also concurred sincerely in this eulogium on the conduct of his Noble Friend; remarking, that "there was no man who had been more injured in the public estimation, and no man who was less capable of resorting to measures of severity, or even of harshness, *unless circumstances compelled him to stifle the gentle emotions of his nature.* He hoped that the Noble Viscount would receive the approbation of a British, as he had secured the gratitude of the most respectable portion of the Irish Public."—Adjourned.

Tuesday, July 28.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the Curates Bill. Some further Amendments were made. The Earl of HARROWBY stated, that it was intended to postpone the Bill till next Sessions.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, July 29.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, from the Commons, returned the English Insolvent Debtors Bill, stating, that the Commons had agreed to their Lordships Amendments in the said Bill.—Adjourned.

Thursday, July 30.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

At a quarter past 3 o'clock the LORD CHANCELLOR took the Woolsack, together with Lords LIVERPOOL, HARROWBY, WALSINGHAM, WESTMORELAND, and the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and sent the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to hear two Commissions read; the one for passing the English Insolvent Debtors' Bill; the other, for the Prorogation of Parliament. The Commons came accordingly, in the usual manner, with the SPEAKER at their head. The Commission for passing the Bill was read, and the same was passed accordingly. The Commission for proroguing Parliament was next read; after which the LORD CHANCELLOR delivered the following Speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"In terminating the present Session of Parliament, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has commanded us to express to you the deep concern and sorrow which he feels at the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.

"His Royal Highness regrets the interruptions which have occurred in the progress of public business, during this long and laborious Session, in consequence of an event which his Royal Highness must ever deplore. The zeal and unwearied assiduity with which you have persevered in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed upon you by the situation of the country, and the state of public affairs, demands his Royal Highness's warmest acknowledgments.

"The assistance which you have enabled his Royal Highness to continue to the brave and loyal nations of the Peninsula, is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects.

"His Royal Highness most warmly participates in those sentiments of approbation, which you have bestowed on the consummate skill and intrepidity displayed in the operations which led to the capture of the important fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, during the present campaign; and his Royal Highness confidently trusts, that the tried valour of the allied forces, under the distinguished command of General the Earl of Wellington, combined with the unabated spirit and steady perseverance of the Spanish and Portuguese Nations, will finally bring the contest in that quarter to an issue, by which the independence of the Peninsula will be effectually secured.

"The renewal of the war in the North of Europe furnishes an additional proof of the little security which can be derived from any submission to the usurpations and tyranny of the French Government. His Royal Highness is persuaded, that you will be sensible of the great importance of the struggle in which the Emperor of Russia has been compelled to engage, and that you will approve of his Royal Highness affording to those Powers who may be united in this contest every degree of co-operation and assistance, consistent with his other engagements, and with the interests of his Majesty's dominions.

"His Royal Highness has commanded us to assure you, that he views with most sincere regret the hostile measures which have been recently adopted by the Government of the United States of America towards this country. His Royal Highness is nevertheless willing to hope, that the accustomed relations of peace and amity between the two countries may yet be restored; but if his expectations in this respect should be disappointed, by the conduct of the Government of the United States, or by their perseverance in any unwarrantable pretensions, he will most fully rely on the support of every class of his Majesty's subjects, in a contest in which the honour of his Majesty's Crown, and the best interests of his dominions, must be involved.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"We have it in command from his Royal Highness, to thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year. His Royal Highness deeply regrets the burthens which you have found it necessary to impose upon his Majesty's people; but he applauds the wisdom which has induced you so largely to provide for the exigencies of the public service, as affording the best prospect of bringing the contest in which the country is engaged to a successful and honourable conclusion.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"His Royal Highness has observed, with the utmost concern, the spirit of insubordination and outrage which has appeared in some parts of the country, and which has been manifested by acts, not only destructive of the property and personal safety of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects in those districts, but disgraceful to the British character. His Royal Highness feels it incumbent upon him, to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the causes which have led to these outrages; and he has commanded us to thank you for the wise and salutary measures which you have adopted on this occasion. It will be a principal object of his Royal Highness's attention, to make an effectual and prudent use of the powers vested in him for the protection of his Majesty's people; and he confidently trusts, that on your return into your respective counties, he may rely on your exertions for the preservation of the public peace, and for bringing the disturbers of it to justice. His Royal Highness most earnestly recommends to you, the importance of inculcating, by every means in your power, a spirit of obedience to those laws, and of attachment to that Constitution, which provide equally for the happiness and welfare of all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and on which have hitherto depended the glory and prosperity of this kingdom."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read. After which the LORD CHANCELLOR said,

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"By virtue of the Commission under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, prorogue this Parliament to Friday, the 2d day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Friday, the 2d day of October next."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 27.

BRISTOL ELECTION.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT presented two Petitions, which were delivered in at the table and read.—The first was from Henry Hunt, of Hookham House, Sussex, Esq. and it complained that the Election had been unduly conducted in the following particulars:—That several hundred ruffians, selected from the colleries, and the lowest orders of the community, were employed by Richard Hart Davis, Esq. and by him paid various sums of money, under the pretence of being Constables, for the purpose of obstructing the Voters of the Petitioner who were anxious to poll; that the most violent outrages, insults, and murders were by them committed; that the friends of Mr. Davis were allowed free ingress and egress to and from the Guildhall, while the friends of the Petitioner were compelled to run the gauntlet through a double rank of bludgeon-men, stationed to prevent them reaching the Hustings; that the voters for the Petitioner were knocked down by these bludgeon-men and deterred from polling, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances that it was contrary to the law of elections; that these bludgeon-men actually entered into a conspiracy to blow up and destroy the magazine of ammunition and arms at Bristol, and that a large body of them actually proceeded to the magazine to effect their design; that the Guildhall of Bristol, where the election was holden, was taken possession of by a military force; that Proclamations were issued desiring persons to keep at home, lest their lives should be endangered by venturing out, and that by this means several persons who would have voted for the Petitioner had been deterred from so doing; that previous to the commencement of the election the Durham Act was not read; that various acts of bribery were committed by Mr. R. H. Davis, and that he had otherwise been guilty of corrupt and illegal practices; that the poll was closed by the Returning Officer one day earlier than the law allowed, in spite of the representations of the Petitioner to the contrary.

The SPEAKER inquired on what day the Hon. Baronet proposed that the Petition should be taken into consideration? and was answered, on this day three weeks; it was ordered accordingly.

The second Petition was from Thomas Doxy and William Longwell, and repeated the principal points in the Petition of Mr. Hunt, and adding that several unqualified persons were allowed to vote for Mr. Davis.—It was ordered to be taken into consideration on the same day.

MR. POOLE'S STATEMENT.

Sir. F. BURDETT moved, that there should be laid before the House a Copy of a written Statement made on the 8th of May, 1812, to the late Mr. Perceval, by James Poole, Esq. late Deputy Inspector General of Foreign Corps, and transmitted by Mr. Perceval to Francis Perceval Elliott, Esq. one of the Auditors of Public Accounts.

Mr. VANSITTART requested that the Hon. Baronet would postpone his motion till to-morrow, which was assented to.

STATE OF THE NATION.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT observed, that since public grievances required public remedies, and since those grievances never prevailed to a greater extent than at present, he felt it his duty to state his opinion, and to endeavour to persuade the Prince Regent to apply the only remedy that could afford permanent and effectual relief. Although the probability of success in the Peninsula might be greater than in the commencement of the campaign, he could not help thinking that the Country was surrounded by more imminent dangers, foreign and domestic, than had threatened it at any former period. The dangers were of various kinds: but among the most alarming were the inroads that had of late years been made upon the Constitution, and which had actually so incorporated themselves with it, that to a superficial observer the one appeared even to form a part of the other. The invasions of the Common Law had been frequent, and the most dangerous symptom was the hostile manner in which the Judges construed that law to the detriment of the Subject. The danger was peculiarly great where the Liberty of the Press was concerned; and it was increased by that usurpation of power by the Attorney-General, by *Ex-officio* Informations, whereby an innocent man was placed in a situation of peril, unauthorised by the Constitution. Sir Wm. Blackstone maintained that *Ex-officio* Informations were not legal, except in cases where immediate interposition was necessary to prevent further danger by delay. It had now been carried to an extent which disgusted every man of common understanding. Not contented with the authority already conferred, the Legislature had recently passed an Act, allowing the Attorney-General the additional power of holding to bail. In prosecutions by the Crown it now appeared that the Attorney General was entirely master of the Court; and for the first time in any proceeding for an offence less than high treason, in the case of the unfortunate Bellingham, the Crown had challenged no less than eight out of twelve Jurors; by the law the right of the prisoner to challenge was restricted, but the right of the Attorney-General was unlimited; this abuse was the corruption of justice at its very source, and, if not restrained, would in time destroy what had been of late years vainly called the *palladium* of British Liberty. The intervention of the Master of the Crown Office further aggravated the evil. The country had been lately threatened with some violent exertion to support the labouring finances. Such a measure was, after the experience of former extortions, indeed formidable. The Hon. Baronet would recommend, that the exertions made should not be to *raise* but to *save money*; exertions of economy, and not of taxation. He recollected three former great exertions of a similar kind to that lately alluded to; the first was the imposition of the Income Tax; the second, the increase of it to 10 per cent.; and the third, the levy of the War Taxes. What fresh attempts were to be made, it was not easy to imagine. An examination of the Report of the Committee of Finance for 1810, would satisfy every unprejudiced mind that the most vigorous exertions of economy were necessary, and would be effectual. He did not indulge the vain hope of convincing the holders of Sinecures that they ought to be abolished, but he believed that he could astonish some of them, when he told them that for Scotland and Ireland only they amounted to 392,361*l.* The Report alluded to likewise disclosed many other important particulars. Under the most comprehensive title of "Compensation for Loss of Office on account of the Union, or any other causes before or since that event," was embraced no less a sum than 100,683*l.* including a charge that seemed most curiously forced in, of 2000*l.* to the Prince of Mecklinburg Strelitz. In England, the charges for Sinecures on the Post-office, Excise, Consolidated Fund, &c. was no less than 459,510*l.* and all the salaries paid for the charge of no duties, ascended to the enormous sum of 952,344*l.* The Pensions given to the American, Dutch, and French Loyalists, to the Prince Regent of Portugal, to the Prince of Orange, to the Emperor of Austria, (the ally of our deadly enemy) and to other Foreigners, (exclusive of their great military emoluments, formed a charge of 2,113,590*l.* not including the sum improperly granted to the Duke of York in 1801, none of which had been returned, and for which no interest was paid. The expence of Foreign Corps was 968,000*l.* and the Loans to Portugal and to the East India Company were four millions.—If the desirable object of an Exchange of Prisoners were effected, another million might be saved. The sum of 176,000*l.* annually granted for *Secret Services*, was to be watched with peculiar jealousy; how it was applied, none but Ministers knew; perhaps to reward such agents as Captain Henry, or to pay hirelings to intrap men into offences. No less than 100,000*l.* was annually allowed for the Poor Clergy of the Church of England; why could not the Poor be supported by the Rich Clergy? In the Hon. Baronet's opinion, the starving Manufacturers were much more deserving objects of charity. Besides these various charges, large salaries were paid to the Commissioners of Public Accounts, who had not saved the Public as much money as would pay their expences for a single twelvemonth. The next head included sums which might be much more fitly included under the title of *Jobs*;—among these were 80,000*l.* to the Board of Agriculture, sixty-

eight thousand for bridges and roads in Scotland (exceeding the entire amount of the land-tax of that country); besides other large charges for improvements near Palace-yard, that ought to have been borne by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and for the erection of a new Mint, at a time when coin was out of circulation. The erection of Barracks, which would have cost 500,000*l.* had been prudently resigned. The whole of these expences rose to the extravagant sum of Nine Millions, all, or the greater part of which, might, with due management, be saved to the nation, already sinking under burdens, which, by new exertions, were to be augmented. With respect to the million of money paid for the Civil List, the Hon. Baronet thought that the Crown had made an improvident bargain, and as the lands belonging to the Sovereign would let for much more, although only fifty or sixty thousand pounds was produced from them, if the contract were abrogated, another million might be saved, and the King benefited. The greatest grievance of which the country had to complain was, the assumption by the House of Commons of the whole of the powers of the State, by which the Crown, instead of being supported, was overawed. He had been constantly held up as the enemy to the constituted authorities—to the authorities legally constituted he was a sincere friend, and he would at all times support the just power and dignity of the Throne. The House of Commons, a boroughmonger faction, erected itself into an odious oligarchy, and usurped all the powers of the three branches of the Constitution. To this cause most of our evils originated. The annual sum of nearly 23 millions was paid as the Army Expenditure, but on calculating the pay of the whole military force at the highest rate, it did not exceed six millions. To what purpose then was the remainder applied? It was divided among the Officers, and was swallowed by jobs in the Barrack and other Departments. The same remarks applied to the Navy, and Lord St. Vincent (no light authority on this subject) had declared that the marine affairs of the nation might be conducted at *one-third* of their present expence. What then, it would be inquired, was the remedy? but he was sure that those who put the question, could themselves answer it without prompting—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—On the many occasions when this question had been discussed, some gentlemen had professed themselves friendly to Reform, but they did not see the benefit that would result from it. If, as it could be proved, the present corrupt state of the representation was the real cause of all the corruption in the various branches of Government, the benefit that would result from reform must be obvious to all. Whether war or peace would be the issue of our differences with America was a question, compared with Parliamentary Reform, of little consequence, and without it, the Regent might, with any Ministers, in vain attempt to satisfy his subjects.—The Hon. Baronet wished to state his opinion with respect to the late overtures by France for peace. The refusal was made by this Government on the ground of a subsisting treaty between George the Third and Ferdinand the Seventh. It was an absurdity to imagine that such a contract could exist. Ferdinand was not in a situation to make or execute it; he was not King of Spain, and had resigned his hereditary right of succession to the Crown. The ground of refusal turned out to be a mere flimsy pretence; or supposing such a treaty did or could exist, one Administration was not bound to fulfil the engagements of another; each was responsible for its own acts; and it was of little importance whether Ferdinand or Joseph were King of Spain. If, however, situated as this nation was previous to the breaking out of the new war, which Russia had been rash enough to commence, the offer made by France had been repeated to any impartial man, the Hon. Baronet was convinced that he would have thought that we could not have done better than close with the proposal, as it would be a fortunate opportunity of getting out of our difficulties. The truth was, not that we were fighting in the Peninsula for Ferdinand, but for ourselves; and the real question was, whether we were to lay claim to the Crown of Spain? The most sanguine hopes were indulged as to the issue of the war just commenced in the North. For his own part, the Hon. Baronet could not [illegible] in the belief held out in newspapers, that Bonaparte, from a want of provisions, would be compelled to withdraw. Knowing himself nothing of Military tactics, the Hon. Baronet could not help believing that the Emperor of the French, after all his experience, would be as well aware of the dangers he was exposed to as the writers of newspapers, or even as his Majesty's Ministers. Seeing who was at the head of Foreign Affairs, and that the two Noble Lords opposite (Castlereagh and Palmerstone) were to have the planning of our expeditions, he entained as little hope of their success against Bonaparte as he should of the success of a child engaged at chess with Phillidore.—It was with the hope of at least awakening in the mind of the Prince Regent a sense of the necessity of something being substantially done—something that might unite the minds and hearts of the people, and that might obtain the redress of grievances which now bo[illegible] them to the earth,—that he had ventured to trouble the House. Measures of economy ought to be adopted. The nation would bear the taxes, if necessary, without repining, when they saw that they were as prudently applied to their legitimate purposes, as they were lavishly granted by that House. He could not expect that his sentiments would meet with the concurrence of many who heard him. He knew he was represented as one who was disaffected to the constituted authorities, as they were called: he denied that he was so however: he was ready to support the Crown in all its Constitutional powers; but he owned he was disaffected to the vile Oligarchy that now governed both the Crown and the Country. To them he owed no allegiance; but on the contrary would rather swear eternal enmity to them on the Altar of his Country. He had been accused, also, of being the protector of those who were the disturbers of the peace. He was no such person; and neither was he the protector of those who violated the Constitution by calling in the military to kill and destroy the people. He would contend there was no necessity for such proceedings. The Constitution, if duly administered, was not so feeble as to require them; it was not such a gaudy, unsubstantial thing as that, to be hung up merely on a fine day, as it were, to be gazed upon with curiosity, but not to be touched. It had vigor enough in itself, if that vigor was properly employed; and his disaffection was to the men who did not properly employ it.—While such measures were pursued, he cared not who were Ministers; he cared not what Oligarchs were in, or what Oligarchs were out, the country was equally a loser.—There was another subject to which he wished to call the attention of the House, and which had been already touched upon. It had pleased Providence within the last few years to permit events which had, in effect, suspended the Constitution; and that House had most unconstitutionally taken upon itself powers to which it was not competent. As, however, he did not wish to see similar proceedings, and as it was possible, every one would allow, that the Prince Regent might be taken from us while his father was yet living, he could wish that some legislative measure should be adopted in anticipation of such a possibility, to prevent the recurrence of the same exercise of unconstitutional power by that House, as had already taken place. The question was pregnant with great difficulties, and difficulties which that House ought to provide against. When, in the early part of the present reign, his Majesty was afflicted with that malady which they all now had to deplore, an Act of Regency was passed, securing, in the person of the Prince of Wales, the exercise of the Royal functions, and he could see no reason why a similar precaution should not now be taken, especially when it was considered that the Princess Charlotte of Wales had now arrived at those years when a Regency might be formed in her person, and ought to be so formed. It was a matter of wonder and surprise to him, and he could not account for it, but by supposing that the House meant to keep the whole Government in its hands.—The Hon. Baronet concluded by saying, that in order to shew the radical cause of all the evils he had adverted to in his speech, he should move, "That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and in which Address all those objects would be embraced." He then moved the following Address:—

"TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the

Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, return our humble thanks to your Royal Highness for having graciously attended to the wishes of this House, expressed in its Vote, intimating the necessity there was of forming a strong and efficient Administration;—We, however, deeply lament that any Privy Counsellors of this realm could accept of commissions to that end, without explicitly laying before your Royal Highness the necessary means of accomplishing the object in view, which could only have been effected by restoring the people to their rights, and so placing your Royal Highness's Government on the virtues and affections of the nation. We lament that your Royal Highness's beneficent intentions and ready endeavours produced no effect advantageous to the country, and only gave occasion to intrigues and cabals, not less odious in their too obvious motives, than injurious to the character of the Government; it being made manifest to all men, that the persons who possess, and those who aspire to, the Offices of State, no longer regard themselves as chosen by the Sovereign, but as the Nominees of the Borough Oligarchy, who equally invade the province of the Crown and the rights of the people, interposing with the one in the choice of its Ministers, and depriving the other of the election of its Representatives. If it were, at this day, necessary to point out the mischievous and disgraceful effects of this unconstitutional and disloyal invasion of the rights of both King and People; if, after all the votes by which the worst sort of tyranny and corruption have been sanctioned; by which Ministers have been screened against a charge of trafficking in seats in this House, and an Attorney-General against a charge of oppression and partiality; if after all that we have witnessed in the course of the last twenty years, of outrage upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen, there still wanted proof of the pernicious and degrading influence of the Borough Faction, that proof we must now regard as complete, when we recollect that at the end of several weeks, during which the business in Parliament was suspended, for the professed purpose of affording time to your Royal Highness to form a new Ministry, that same House of Commons, who had by one vote declared the Ministers to be incompetent, recognised by another vote the competence of these same Ministers, leaving scarcely a possible doubt as to the means by which the conversion had been effected. While we are convinced, that posterity will never believe that a King and people of England were thus made the sport and prey of a Borough Faction, sustained solely by a fraudulent pretence of being the Representatives of the People, we of the present day feel too sorely the reality of the fact, which has been manifested in a long train of useless wars and expeditions; which, while attended with a dreadful waste of treasure and of life, have almost uniformly failed in their professed object, and have only answered the purpose of enriching the Borough Faction and their dependants, as a reward for political corruption.—In the rash rejection of the late Overture to treat for peace, made on the part of the Emperor of the French, on the flimsy pretext of a Treaty of Alliance between his Majesty and Ferdinand the Seventh, when, in truth, no such treaty is in existence, we cannot but deeply lament, not only the loss of an opportunity to treat for Peace, more favourable than in all probability will again occur, but also to see in that rejection the determination of the Oligarchy to engage the nation in interminable war; and that at a moment when, not only by rejection of all offers, Russia was exposed to danger, but this country itself was on the eve of war with America, which not only threatens to leave your manufacturers out of employment, but also to deprive this country of its only resource of relief, in case of an unfavourable harvest; and at a time when the augmentation of taxes, in the space of the last twenty years only, has swelled a burthen of fifteen to a burthen of seventy millions a year; and during the same period has so added to the public debt and the paper money, as to leave not the smallest hope of redeeming the one or of restoring the credit of the other,—Sinecure offices and grants of public money have been given to an enormous amount—without the sanction of any public service; money voted out of the pockets of the people by those who did not represent them. The galling effects of the system are seen in the harshness, the insolence, the partiality, and tyranny of Tax Commissioners, Commissioners of Excise, and their inferior agents, whose almost diurnal visitations place the purse of every man in a constant state of requisition; unhinging property, dissipating the resources, and exhausting the patience of a loyal and suffering nation. As a melancholy accompaniment of those evils, we behold a rapid increase of paupers, of misery, and of crimes; and in addition, we have the pain of observing a systematic practice in the Court of King's Bench of construing law in a manner hostile to the freedom of the subject; an evident decline in the independence of the Bar, and an unconstitutional use of a succedaneum for the hateful Court of Star Chamber, Ex officio Informations with Special Juries; and finally, as the means of securing non-resistance from an oppressed people, we are shocked at the establishment of inland fortresses throughout the Land, under the name of Barracks, and in the introduction and progressive increase of foreign mercenary troops; by the employment of Foreigners in offices of trust, civil and military, in defiance of the Act of Settlement, the rights of Englishmen, and the common Law of the Land. In all these things, and in many others which we forbear to name, we see manifested the influence of that rapacious and insolent Oligarchy, who, while they scruple not to inrich themselves with the spoils of the people, invariably speak of them with contempt and opprobrium. We beg leave, therefore, humbly to represent to your Royal Highness our firm conviction, that it is only by promoting a Constitutional Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and thereby obtaining the cordial support of the Nation, against those who are now usurping the Prerogatives of the Crown, by means of the power which they have purloined from the People, that your Royal Highness will be able to form a strong and efficient Government, equal to the perilous state of affairs, or to adopt and put in force such measures as can effectually secure internal tranquillity, National Independence, and finally obtain a safe and permanent peace. Amongst the many misfortunes both from within and without, which the Nation has experienced, we account it not amongst the least, that after the odious Borough Oligarchy had for three months actually suspended the Kingly part of the Constitution, and then imposed on your Royal Highness restrictions on the Royal Prerogative, as insulting as unconstitutional and unnecessary, they took care to have the nation exposed to similar danger, to the same unsettled, hazardous condition, in the event of the demise of your Royal Highness (whom God long preserve) that so in such event they might have a pretence for renewing their factious usurpation-, for fabricating new restrictions, and keeping the Crown in a state of pupillage, which ought to be independant. This we esteem peculiarly offensive, when, in the person of the Princess Charlotte, your Royal Highness's daughter and only child, being now of legal age, a Regency might, according to former precedent, with evident propriety, be established, so as to insure the nation against the uncertainties and dangers to which it is otherwise exposed. We beg leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that those only deceive you who pretend that this country can be restored to safety and content except by redressing the grievances of the people, by strictly applying the public money to public services alone, by extending the benefits of the Constitution to persons of all religious persuasions, without distinction, and above all, in restoring to the people their undoubted rights, "claimed, demanded, and insisted on," but unfortunately not established, at the Revolution: amongst which the chief and paramount is, the free choice of their Representatives in the Commons House of Parliament; on the restoration of which, we are firmly persuaded, mainly depend the stability of the Throne, the independence of the country, and the liberty of the people."

The motion not being seconded, it was, of course, discharged.

REDEMPTION OF LAND TAX.

Mr. BARING rose to move for certain Papers relating to the Redemption of the Land Tax, with a view to ground a motion upon it, early in the ensuing Session, should no measures be adopted by Ministers, during the Recess, to render such a motion unnecessary. He stated, that by a proper management in

the Redemption of the Land Tax, a very great increase of Revenue might be obtained.

The motion was agreed to—Adjourned.

Wednesday, July 29.

MR. POOLE'S STATEMENT.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT apprehended that there would be no objection to his motion for the Copy of Mr. Poole's Statement to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.

Mr. VANSITTART said he should object to it, on the ground of its being *a private paper*; and begged the Hon. Baronet would state his object in moving for it.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he understood there had been a most corrupt expenditure and embezzlement of public money, in the management of the Foreign Corps, and that the subject could not be investigated without the production of this Account. He should, therefore, move for a Copy of the Statement made in May, 1811, to Mr. Perceval, and by him referred to Francis Perceval Eliott, Esq.

Mr. WHARTON said, he objected to the production of the Paper on two grounds: first, that it was *private*; and 2dly, that it was *a direct libel* on several persons, and particularly on the late Mr. Windham; that the subject was already in a course of investigation before a Board of Officers, and considerable progress had been made in the inquiry. The Paper charged almost every person connected with Foreign Corps with the grossest misconduct; and these charges could be much better answered in the present method of inquiry, than in any investigation before the House, where they could not be formally repelled. He could not, therefore, see any object in the production of the Paper before Parliament, except to cast a stain on several persons now deceased.

Sir F. BURDETT said, his object was, that a subject which had slept too long, should at length be inquired into. He was ready, however, to withdraw his motion, under the impression that a proper inquiry should be instituted; if it were otherwise, he should bring the subject before Parliament early in the next Session.—The motion was then withdrawn.

ARMY AGENTS.

Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE stated, that some better security should be fixed upon for the payment of Public Money. Immense sums were advanced to Agents for the payment of the Army; and one Agent, Mr. Greenwood, had no less than 176 battalions under his management. He had the highest opinion of that gentleman, and knew him to be a man of honour and generosity; but what security had Government in case of his failure or bankruptcy? He wished that some measure should be adopted with respect to the Regular Army, similar to that which Ministers had passed this Session relative to the Agent-General of Volunteers, by which a saving of 30 or 31,000*l.* was effected for the country. He attributed the great agency of Mr. Greenwood, not so much to the circumstance of there being 45 Colonels of Regiments Members of Parliament, as to some *higher authority*. He then moved for several accounts of the sums advanced to Agents of the Army, Marines, Artillery, and Ordnance, and of the balances for and against the Public and the Agents.

Mr. LONG observed, that a branch of the War-office was actively employed in adjusting the accounts alluded to, and that the present Secretary at War was giving very particular attention to the subject. He must state, however,—to correct any misapprehensions which the Hon. Gentleman's speech might excite,—that very considerable sums of money were due from the Public to several Agents, and to Mr. Greenwood in particular; and that an office similar to the Agent-General of Volunteers could not be instituted in the Army without altering its whole constitution.

Sir F. BURDETT insisted, that some security was necessary from the Army Agents; and wished to know what compensation the Public had received for the losses incurred through the failure of several, some of whom had become bankrupts, and some of them had committed suicide?

Mr. ROSE said, the Scheme of an Agent-General had once before been suggested, but rejected. No higher authority had interfered with regard to Mr. Greenwood.

Mr. LONG stated, that since Mr. Burke's Act, the method of settling army accounts was so complicated, that it was thought it would be impracticable to go on with that plan. As to the *higher authority* alluded to, he did not believe that any such influence had been used, and the Hon. Gentleman ought to make a distinct charge, and not insinuate on such a subject. He did not believe *the Duke of York* had ever interfered.

Mr. JOHNSTONE disclaimed all intention of attacking Mr. Greenwood: he had moved merely for the balances for and against the Agents; but on public grounds it was impossible not to feel that one gentleman could not in common prudence be allowed to monopolize the Agency of the Army.

Mr. MARTIN (of Galway) said, the great agency of Mr. Greenwood arose from the gratitude of Colonels who had been, by his kindness, enabled to purchase rank in the army.

The motion was agreed to.

WEST INDIAN PLANTERS.

Mr. JACKSON, after an eulogy on the character of the West India Planters, who, he said, in accomplishments and *humanity* were equal to the most polished society of England,—and after several other remarks, moved that an Address be presented to the Prince Regent, for a copy of a speech of Governor Elliott, on his arrival at Antigua; and for a copy of his letter to Lord Liverpool, in which were contained some charges against the Planters of the Leeward Islands. He stated it to be his intention, unless the matter were taken up by Government, to bring forward some motion next Session in justification of the Planters.

Lord CASTLEREAGH observed, that the observations of Governor Elliot were made to justify his own conduct, and were not intended to reflect disgrace on the body of the West India Planters.

Mr. STEPHEN said that the remarks of Governor Elliott were called for in vindication of his own conduct. He allowed, that among the Planters there were men of exemplary humanity,—the more to be admired, as in a state where negro-slavery was allowed, there must be a perpetual tendency to harden and corrupt the mind; *but this humanity*, he was sorry to say, especially among the lower orders, *was not extended to the black population*. What had been the case at St. Kitts, and at Tortola? At the first place a man, who had been guilty of the most cruel enormities towards his slaves, had been acquitted; and a printer had been indicted, convicted, and imprisoned, for publishing merely an ungarbled statement of the trial. At Tortola, when Hodges had been found guilty of murder—*one murder out of fifty of the most savage description*—what had been the difficulty? Not to prevent, as might be expected, a premature execution by an indignant populace, but to enforce the execution. The Governor had been forced to leave the seat of Government, to proclaim martial law in Tortola, and to reside there ten days, to prevent disturbance,—and this was necessary by reason of the prejudices of the white population against those unfortunate beings who were of a different colour.

Mr. BROWNE allowed that Governor Elliott was entitled to the highest praise for his conduct respecting the execution of Mr. Hodges, and that he had the greatest respect for his general character and conduct: at the same time he must set the Hon. Gentleman right upon this transaction. *Although the Jury recommended Mr. Hodges for mercy*, yet the majority of the white population of Tortola were clamorous for his execution; and if it had not taken place, he verily believed that he would have been torn to pieces either by the whites or the blacks. Under such circumstances, he thought the Governor was right to proclaim martial law, to preserve the peace of the island. He must say, however, that the letter of Governor Elliott conveyed a very unfair insinuation against the white population.

Mr. JACKSON also bore testimony, that the Majority of the white population were decidedly for the execution of that scoundrel (Mr. Hodges.) As to Mr. Huggins, he believed that the Jury could not legally convict him; but his conduct was so reprobated, that there was hardly a white inhabitant of respectability in any of the islands who would associate with him.

Mr. VANSITTART regretted much that ever this paper had been made public; and he hoped the inconvenience of the publicity would be a caution to Members who were about moving

for the production of similar papers, as when they were once ordered, it was impossible to avoid publicity.

The motion was withdrawn.—Adjourned.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

Downing-street, July 27, 1812.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been this day received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by General Earl of Wellington, dated Rueda, July 7, 1812:—

The army broke up from the encampment on the Guarena on the morning of the 1st inst., and the enemy having retired from Alaejos, encamped on the Trabancos, with the advanced guard at La Nava del Rey. Having heard that the enemy had destroyed the bridge of Tordesillas, our advanced guard crossed the Zapardiel, and moved upon Rueda, on the morning of the 2d, supported by the left of the army, while the right and centre moved towards Medina del Campo.—The enemy, however, had not destroyed the bridge over the Douro, as reported; and the main body of the army had retired upon Tordesillas, leaving the rear guard at Rueda. Lieut.-Gen. Stapleton Cotton immediately attacked the rear guard with Major General Anson's and Major Gen. Victor Alten's brigades of cavalry, and drove them in upon the main body at Tordesillas. As the right and centre of the army were at a considerable distance, I could not bring up a sufficient body of troops in time to attack the enemy during their passage of the Douro, and they effected that operation without material loss; and took their position on that river, with their right on the heights opposite Pollos, their centre at Tordesillas, and their left at Simancas, on the Pisuerga. I moved our left to Pollos on the 3d, and obtained possession of the ford over the Douro at that place. But as the ford was scarcely practicable for infantry, and the enemy's corps was strongly posted, with a considerable quantity of cannon, on the heights which command the plain on which the troops must have formed after crossing the ford, and as I could not establish the army on the right of the Douro till I should have adequate means of passing the river, I did not think it proper to push our troops further.—General Bonnet was at Aquilar del Campo in the end of last month.

Admiralty-Office, July 28.

Admiral Lord Keith has transmitted Dispatches from Capt. Sir Home Popham, giving an account of his further proceedings subsequent to those reported in his former letters, and inserted in the Gazette of the 14th instant.

On the 2d, the squadron being off Guetaria, an attack was intended to be made upon that place, and two companies of royal marines were landed under Major Williams, accompanied by General Carrol, for reconnoitring; but some parties of the enemy being discovered crossing the hills, and the Guerillas being engaged in a different quarter, the plan of attack was relinquished, and the marines re-embarked, without loss. The Guerillas had been employed in an action with a detachment of the enemy conducting eighty prisoners from Asturias. One hundred and thirty of the enemy are stated to have been killed, and fifty taken, who had been left wounded on the field of battle, and the Spanish prisoners were liberated. On the 6th, Sir Home Popham arrived off Castro, where a twenty-four pounder and a company of marines had been landed from the Surveillante, to assist Colonel Longa in an attack on the place. Information was however received of the approach of two thousand five hundred French troops, whose arrival obliged Longa to retire, and the parties landed from the squadron were again re-embarked without loss. In the evening the enemy were seen marching into the town. On the 7th the enemy were driven from the town by the fire of the squadron, and took post on the hills, and preparations were made for an attack on the castle, which accordingly took place on the 8th, when the Commandant surrendered with one hundred and fifty men, the remainder of the enemy's force having marched towards Larido. On the 10th the squadron proceeded off Puerta Galletta, to cooperate in an attack upon it with the Spanish troops under Longa, and on the 11th much firing was kept up against the batteries; but the enemy being found to be stronger than the Spaniards had expected, the attack was abandoned. During the morning, Capt, Bloye, of the Lyra, landed with a party of marines, and knocked off the trunnions of the guns in the Bagona battery, and destroyed one mounted on a height. On the 12th the Venerable anchored off Castro, which had been feebly attacked by the enemy the evening before; one of the Imperial Guards was wounded, and brought in a prisoner. On the 15th, the enemy's moveable column having been drawn by a feint to Santona, from whence it could not reach Guetaria in less than four days, another attack was intended to be made upon the latter place, in concert with the Guerillas under Don Gaspar, and with the promised aid of one of the battalions under General Mina. Early in the morning of the 19th, one twenty-four pounder and a howitzer were landed, and mounted on a hill to the westward of Guetaria, under Capt. Malcolm, of the Rhin, while the Hon. Capt. Bouverie landed with two guns, and, after many difficulties in drawing them up, mounted them on the top of a hill to the eastward. The Venerable's guns began firing at noon, and continued till sun-set, when those of the enemy on that side were silenced; and the Medusa's were put in readiness to open on the following morning. During the night, however, intelligence was received of the approach of a body of French troops, which afterwards proved to be a division of between two and three thousand men that had just arrived at Saint Sebastians from France, and was immediately sent forward by forced marches to Guetaria. The uncertainty with respect to the enemy's force and the disposition of the Guerillas to oppose their advance, prevented the re-embarkation of the guns and men landed from the squadron, until the retreat of the Spaniards, after some skirmishing with the superior numbers of the French, in which the latter are stated to have suffered severely. Capt. Bouverie then destroyed the two guns from the Medusa, and re-embarked with all his men, and every thing belonging to the guns. Capt. Malcolm was detained longer, by a message brought to him by one of Don Gaspar's Aid-de-Camps, stating that the enemy had been beaten back, and urging him to remain in his battery; finding, however, that the enemy was advancing fast, he gave orders to re-embark, and brought off his party, with the exception of three midshipmen and twenty-nine men, who were taken prisoners, but fortunately without having one man killed or wounded. Sir Home Popham had sent to propose an exchange of the men taken on this occasion, for some of the French prisoners on board the squadron, and was in hopes of succeeding in this proposal. The Spaniards lost a Captain of artillery, and had a serjeant and ten men badly wounded. The detachment expected from General Mina's army arrived the morning after the action, and joined Don Gaspar, having marched eighteen Spanish leagues in two days.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Warrand, commanding his Majesty's Schooner Sealark.

His Majesty's Schooner Sealark, July 23, 1812.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 21st instant, when cruizing off the Start, in the execution of your orders, at eight A. M. a signal was made from the signal station of an enemy being in the S. E. quarter; after running for three hours in that direction, I discovered a large lugger under English colours, chasing and firing at two large merchant ships steering up Channel, which I believe were West-Indiamen. On the lugger discovering the Sealark to be a cruizer, she steered her course to starboard, and made all possible sail; but finding the schooner gaining on her, she shortened sail, hoisted English colours, and cleared for action, and wore repeatedly, to endeavour to get to windward of the schooner; but fearing she might escape if she had so done, I was determined to lay her on board, which I accomplished between her fore and main chains, when an action commenced, which lasted one hour and thirty minutes, during which time a most severe fire was kept up with great guns and musketry, the enemy using hand-grenades, &c.; when, perceiving that she had taken fire, I then directed Mr. James Beavor, the Acting Master, to board her, which he did in the most spirited manner, and carried her. She proves to be

the Ville de Caen, Capt. Cocket, of sixteen guns and seventy-five men, belonging to St. Maloes; had sailed from the Isle of Bas the day before, had taken nothing, and is the same vessel which had beaten off the Sandwich lugger some time since.—I am sorry, Sir, to acquaint you, that our loss has been very severe, having had seven men killed (amongst whom was my Clerk), and myself and twenty-one men wounded, several of them dangerously. The enemy's loss, as nearly as I can collect, has been fifteen killed, who, with the Captain, were found on deck when taken possession of, and sixteen wounded, most of them severely. I beg particularly to recommend to your notice the steady, brave, and good conduct of Mr. Beavor, the Acting Master, with the Pilot, and every other petty officer, seaman, and marine, engaged in this arduous and unequal contest. I inclose a return of the killed and wounded.—I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS WARRAND, Lieut. and Com.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

R. Jennings, Chertsey, bricklayer, from August 1 to the 8th.
W. Inglethorp, Portman-mews, Portman-square, hackney-man, from the 25th of July to August 8th.

BANKRUPTS.

S. Dicken, Ellerdine, Salop, dealer.
J. Thomas, Welshpool, Montgomery, woollen-manufacturer.
M. Barter, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, victualler.
J. Brindle, Kemerton, Gloucester, draper.
T. Davidson, Liverpool, merchant.
J. Horlock, Newport, grocer.
J. Grimshaw, Manchester, music-seller.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

FRIDAY, JULY 31.

Foreign-Office, Downing-street, July 31.

Viscount Castlereagh has this day received, by Lieutenant Dobree, of his Majesty's ship Victor, Dispatches from Edw. Thornton, Esq. his Majesty's Penipotentiary in Sweden, transmitting a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias; and a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Orebro, by Mr. Thornton and the respective Plenipotentiaries of the two Powers, on the 18th instant.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

At the Court at Carlton-House, the 31st of July 1812, Present, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council:—

It is this day ordered, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and by and with the advice of his Majesty's Privy Council, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports within the territories of the United States of America, until further order: And his Royal Highness is further pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and by and with the advice aforesaid, to order, that a general Embargo or stop be made of all ships and vessels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, now within, or which shall hereafter come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within any part of His Majesty's dominions, together with all persons and effects on board all such ships and vessels; and that the Commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers do detain and bring into port all ships and vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, or bearing the flag of the said United States, except such as may be furnished with British licences, which vessels are allowed to proceed according to the tenor of the said licences; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained; and the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers are hereby instructed to detain and bring into port every such ship and vessel accordingly, except such as are above excepted: and the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain. CRETWYND.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

S. Summers, Birmingham, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

W. Brombly, Leicester, maltster.
E. Young, West Malling, Kent, school-master.
J. T. Patience, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, builder.
T Clark, Bartholomew-close, worsted-manufacturer.
D. Tubb, Basing, Southampton, miller.
H. Dousel, Southampton-place, Camberwell, dealer.
W. Coslett, Caerphilly, Glamorgan, shopkeeper.
H. Buller, Clipstone-street, Mary-le-bone, painter.
J. Leavy, Fore-street, London, victualler.
J. Joseph, Somerset-street, Whitechapel, umbrella-maker.
J. C. Hancock, Haymarket, shopkeeper.
J. Winder, Axe-Inn, Aldermanbury, warehouseman.
B. Raywood, Barnsley, Yorkshire, linen-draper.
S. Smith, jun. Overton Forreign, Flintshire, currier.
E. Maxted, Hythe, Kent, butcher.
S. Lewis, Strand, glover.
W. Hankins, Brewer-street, Golden-square, undertaker.
W. Higgs, Beech-street, Barbican, hatter.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

3 per Cons. Consols....56 ¼ ⅜ | Omnium....1⅞ 2 prem.

Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE and the ARMY AGENCY, next week.

CANDIDUS in Defence of Mr. COBBETT, next week; with the curious Anecdote of Mr. STROEHLING and the Arabian Palfreys.

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, AUGUST 2.

By the latest accounts, BONAPARTE was still at Wilna; and the last bulletin talks of transitions of weather that had left "convoys of artillery in the mud," and killed "several thousand horses;" and of a storm, in particular, that had retarded his march, and driven such a concourse of "people" into that city as to damage the suburbs. Storms and transitions of weather are probable enough in such a region; but when we recollect how chary the French are, and indeed all other nations, of making any acknowledgments to their disadvantage, there is a suspicious character about these excuses; and at any rate, it is clear that the Emperor does not get on as he used with his campaigns. We shall see what the Russians say; though, as to bulletins in general, their details and explanations are of very little service to a comprehension of the proceedings, which is to be gathered more from the places at which they are dated, than any thing else. We have seen,

however, to a certainty, that BONAPARTE has obtained possession of the Lithuanian capital, as he promised to do; and if he continue to advance from one post to another with similar ease, the result is easily conceived; for he appears to have secured his communication with the Niemen behind him, which brings him provision; and what the policy of the Russians may be, if it is only to retreat before him and destroy the magazines which they themselves have been creating, it is difficult to find out. Had the communication in his rear been cut off, it would have been another matter; but either the opportunity was lost, or the plans of the Russians were only half formed. An account from Riga, to the 8th of last month, represents them as having arrived at the Dwina, and intending to make a stand there against the enemy, whose advanced guard, under the command of the King of NAPLES, was reported to be on it's road thither from Wilna. It was even said that a heavy cannonade had been heard the day preceding, but nothing has since transpired.

In the mean time a number of curious events have taken place, of various interest to the contending parties and ourselves. The first, and as it regards the immediate seat of war the most important, is the Polish Declaration of Independence, and of a New Constitution. There is nothing stable in this,—at least as far as respects the real independence of the Poles, of whom BONAPARTE is only making a momentary instrument, and whose dependence he guaranteed but the other day to Russia;—his effrontery also in talking of freedom and self-respect to the Poles, at the very moment that he is enslaving the Spaniards, is of a truly royal description; and the cant of the French papers about the erected spirit of the new freemen, and the mother who says to her sleeping child, "Wake, my boy, for thou art become a Pole," would be quite diverting, were it not rendered deplorable by the thought of the people themselves, and disgusting by the recollection of the French Revolution;—but it is easy to conceive the hatred which the Poles must entertain for their late masters; and BONAPARTE receives no mean addition of strength from the enthusiasm it must excite against them. He has once more the wrongs of a country on his side; and let the "legitimate" Sovereigns recollect, that while his crimes are fighting against him in the South, their crimes, of the same description, are again assisting him in the North. The infamous partition of Poland is still fresh enough in the recollection of Europe, to make these legitimate people ridiculous when they would represent themselves as a pure set of ill-treated souls.—Why had not Russia the policy as well as the generosity to secure the gratitude of the Poles long ago by declaring them free? We will answer why: one state is generally as great a tyrant as another with regard to it's dependencies, and as foolish in preferring unwilling slaves to voluntary and ardent friends.

The next event in favour of the enemy is his successful contrivance to renew the quarrel between ALEXANDER and the PORTE. This is nothing whatever to Europe, except as it regards the contest, and assists to hamper the Russians; and even in this case, it might be of little consequence, if the latter knew how to treat it; but ever since CATHARINE chose to indulge a safe ambition in getting Turkish victories, and entertained her romantic speculations upon Greece, the Court of Petersburgh has attached a most absurd importance to it's disputes with that Power, and helped to lose it's better influence among the Christian nations by wasting it's strength in this inefficient bye-play.

The third is the new and unnatural war, which we have just brought upon ourselves from the United States,—a war which has arisen from the pettiest and most unworthy feelings which could exist between two nations, and into which we are persuaded the Americans would never have been provoked by our wanton aggressions and the tone of affected contempt with which we supported them, had there not existed till very lately, perhaps longer still, a certain leven of *Court* feeling and recollection, which embittered the bread of charity between us, and which was well understood by the Pittites. However, from the new turn which has been forced upon the Ministerial Councils respecting America, no eventual good, it is to be hoped, will accrue to BONAPARTE from the circumstance, since the hostile Declaration with it's heart-burnings about our Orders in Council, was made before the knowledge of their repeal; and it is expected, that the war will be almost as short and harmless as it's origin, on our parts, was poor and wanton.—The Americans are not a people to attract one's taste and increase our respect for the trading character; but in this dispute, they have clearly had the best of us, and we should every way congratulate ourselves in getting out of it.

These are the events against us;—those in our favour are the two treaties of Peace, announced on Friday, with Russia and Sweden. Of these it is to no purpose to form any judgment, till we know their contents: but generally speaking, it may confidently be predicted, that they will be of no service whatever to the present contest, unless BERNADOTTE is to take a positive part in it. He has done nothing yet against BONAPARTE, and it does not follow that he ever will, whatever consent he may give to accept a douceur for his kind expressions. It is most likely, we are afraid, that his policy on this nice occasion has been to keep quiet with all parties, openly with his neighbours, and secretly with France, and so to secure his possessions, let what may be the result.

We intended to make some observations this week on Mr. WHITBREAD's remarks respecting the proposal for peace, and his hints respecting the Princess CHARLOTTE; but the former subject will return again by and bye, and the latter will be best accompanied by some future remarks on circumstances connected with the paragraph that follows this article. We shall only say for the present, that we also have heard what is there reported; and that the public

shall hear it from us, with the proper comments and explanations; for these are matters not of mere private talk or curiosity, but of great public interest, and ought to be told.

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"A report of a very singular nature has been communicated to us, which we in like manner communicate to the public, but without in any degree pledging ourselves for its truth. The statement is this:—that very recently, a Minister of State waited on an Illustrious Female, and after expressing how much he felt at being the bearer of the message he was about to communicate to her, proceeded to inform her, that he came, by command of her Husband, to state to her, that he thought her visits to the issue of their marriage were too frequent, and to request they might be less so in future, and not too long at one time. The illustrious Mother then called one of her attendants into the room, who, at her request, wrote down the substance of the message, which was read to the bearer thereof, and acknowledged by him to be correct. The attendant then, by his Mistress's desire, signed the paper; after which, the Minister of State, on the same request, also signed it."—*Times*.

"This morning letters were received from the Dutch coast, dated the 29th ult. which state, that accounts had been received in Holland of a dreadful battle fought near Riga, between the Russians and the French under Gen. MACDONALD, at the head of 60,000 men, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of 15,000, and compelled to make a rapid retreat.—Two more Prussian Regiments have deserted from the French.—The letters state that the coast of France is completely drained of troops, and that BONAPARTE has issued a great number of new licenses, to which he has been induced, in the hope of obtaining some revenue, and allaying the discontents which his rigorous system has excited."—*Sun. Aug.* 1.

Another Banking-house in the city, that of Messrs. JOHN and ALEXANDER ANDERSON and Co. of Philpot-lane, stopped payment on Friday morning.

Mr. BARING seems quite alarmed lest Ministers should not feel disposed to lay fresh taxes on this flourishing nation. The poor, he must think, are much too comfortable; cloathing much too cheap, and firing altogether useless, in this sultry climate.

The Ministers refuse to lay Mr. POOLE's Statement before Parliament, and why? Because, say they, it is *private* and *libellous*.—The reader is well aware, that *libel* means *truth*; and as to the Statement being *private*, never was there a more wilful misstatement. Private, indeed! why, it relates to frauds practised by Mr. WINDHAM's agents for Foreign Corps; which frauds were denounced by Mr. POOLE to Mr. WINDHAM himself, long before his death.—And what did that hollow Statesman? He threw every obstacle in the way of inquiry, made his own Relations,—three deep,—the inspectors and passers of the accounts, and tried hard to prevent their final examination by the Public Auditors.—According to this new doctrine of libel, *Bill Snames* is one of the most ill used of gentlemen, and might obtain a verdict in any Court in the kingdom.—It is really a pity he don't bring his action in the Court of King's Bench, when Lord ELLENBOROUGH will tell the Jury that they must find for the Plaintiff, for even "the most profligate must not be libelled."

A new and most abominable species of hoax has lately been practised in *high life*, by contriving that a forged and false *billet-doux* to the husband should fall into the hands of the wife.

A Meeting of the Inhabitants of Westminster will take place in New-Palace-Yard, on Wednesday next, at twelve o'clock, "to take into consideration the Expediency of presenting a Petition to the House of Commons for a Reform in the Representation of the People, and for Redress of Grievances."—Such Meetings cannot be held too often; and as the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER has given the Public reason to expect an early TAX UPON CAPITAL,—or, in other words, *a demand from every man of a part of his estate*,—it seems highly expedient to reflect on the consequences of such a demand.

NATIONAL BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION.—There was an error in our last, in the account of Subscribers to this institution. It said that the Duke and Duchess of BUCCLEUGH had sent their names; but it should have said, the Dowager Duchess of BUCCLEUGH only.—At the Lecture last week, at Mr. CHRISTIE's, the Great Room was not only completely filled, but upwards of 200 persons were unable to obtain admission.—Mr. HERVE lectures again to-morrow evening, at Mr. SQUIRE's Room, in Conduit-street. Those Gentlemen, it should be known, all lend their rooms, as well as afford every convenience for the company, without any other reward than the satisfaction of having forwarded a good work.

THEATRICAL EXAMINER.

The new Farce of the *Highgate Tunnel*, which we have not yet seen, shall be criticised next week.

No. 120.

HAYMARKET.

THE new "Comedy" in three acts, called the *Fortune Hunters*, is a compilation of old jokes and incidents, not at all worth repeating, in which the persons concerned are all seeking wives and husbands, and all explaining their intentions without the least liability to be mistaken. Some of them, it is true, those for instance who give the piece it's title, are a little less personal in their designs; but they all think and talk alike, more or less, and the piece is little better throughout than an ill-managed double-meaning or a direct compound of grossness. There is a gay spark, who tells about "girls on the pavé,"—another who recommends himself to his mistress by confessing that he "has had his follies,"—a female fortune-hunter, who is divided between love and avarice, and makes up to every body she meets,—a male ditto, who engages to teach natural history to the ladies,—an old aunt, of a most impassioned description,—her neice, a *modest* young lady, who interchanges soft looks with strangers in the street, and a drunken footmen, who in the person of MATHEWS, gives as gross a specimen of his habits as can well be pourtrayed, and is the main support of the piece.—You laugh now and then, just as you laugh in a common company of jokers,—sometimes at an odd look or gesture in the speaker, sometimes at the mere badness of the joke; but as to any thing further, what can you expect from a production, which is made up of nothing but the indecency of the old comedy, and the ignorance of the new? It is said to be the work of a young man; and from what has been stated, the reader will see that it has all the marks of being so, without excepting the very worst train of ideas, into which a young mind of no great strength is too apt to be led. Instead therefore of being congratulated, he is to be pitied for having narrowly escaped damnation. A young man, who can put together dialogues

of any kind, cannot be absolutely of the lowest order of understandings; and it is a pity that any body of the slightest promise should be left to repose on his inexperienced notions of what is superior and shining, and run the hazard of exchanging his future good sense and repute for the idle applause of lobby-loungers and foolish friends.

LYCEUM.

The new piece at this Theatre, *Rich and Poor*, is an Opera patched up, by the help of a compilation of music and songs, from Mr. Lewis's *East Indian*, and as little worthy of grave criticism as the one above-mentioned, though not so reprehensible in any respect. It is a poor imitation of the tatlers, and good old, home-returning uncles of the *School for Scandal*, with an addition of German effect in the sentimental part, and has little or nothing to boast of its own, except a scene which represents the trick of a man of fashion to get rid of two creditors, and which is amusing enough. They both happen to beset him at the same instant in his house, and he sees no means of escaping, but by telling each of them aside, after satisfying himself that they are ignorant of each others persons, that the gentleman "whom he sees there" is *Mr. Latitat* his lawyer, come to pay him a large legacy:—having done this, he pretends to introduce them, and looking ambiguously at each and both, says, "this is *Mr. Latitat*, who will settle your claims." He then leaves them to their delighted anticipations; and after much scraping and smiling on both sides, the trick is discovered by presenting their respective bills to each other for payment.—The sentimental part is carried to an outrageous pitch at the end. A daughter has offended her father by running away from India, with a man who is discovered to be unmarried:—she meets him again in England, and in spite of her having suffered a great deal of misery, and lived as virtuously as possible since the discovery, this father, while he is affecting all sorts of the pathetic on her account, will not listen to her entreries for pardon, but suffers himself to be followed about the stage with his knees clasped by her in her agony, till we long to get up and thump his wig about his head. The Manager should curtail this unnatural or at least disagreeable exhibition, which appears to exhaust even Mr. FAWCETT's strong lungs, and is evidently too much for Miss KELLY, who is an actress of great sensibility, and enters into scenes of this kind with feelings that ought not to be wantonly put to their stretch.

ST

POLICE.

BOW-STREET.

A NEW WAY TO RECOVER DEBTS.—Michael Garfield, the servant of Mr. Rawlinson, a fishmonger, in King-street, Portman-square, was brought to this Office, charged with remaining at the door of George Blacquire, Esq. of York-street, Portman-square, for about two hours, on Tuesday evening, knocking violently at the street door, making a great noise and disturbance, causing a number of persons to assemble round the house, and other improper conduct. It also appeared that the defendant and his master had for some time past pursued similar conduct; Mr. Rawlinson sometimes taking a chair to Mr. Blacquire's door-way, smoaking a pipe, &c. Tuesday evening appeared to be a time particularly fixed upon to annoy Mr. Blacquire, on account of his having a dinner-party. Mr. Blacquire went out to the defendant, and repeatedly desired him to go away, but he refused; Mr. Blacquire in consequence horse-whipped him. This did not have the desired effect; he persisted in remaining there, to the great annoyance of Mr. B. his party, and family.—Mr. Rawlinson attended, and justified his own and his servant's conduct, as he could not get his bill paid which was owing him by Mr. Blacquire for fish.—Mr. Nares observed, that Mr. Blacquire not paying his bill did not justify their conduct, and ordered the defendant to find bail.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

A question of some importance, with regard to coach-hire, was decided on Thursday at this office. *David Gibson*, a hackney coachman, was fined *ten* shillings, a few days since, for exacting three shillings for a fare of one shilling. The defence set up was, that there were six persons in the coach, and a shilling per head over four was charged. Two, however were children. The Commissioners cancelled the conviction, on the ground that no one can be charged less than an adult who can sit alone.

ACCIDENTS, OFFENCES, &c.

A dreadful fire broke out on Friday morning among the hay-ricks belonging to Mr. Laycock, at the back of Wells's row, Islington, which consumed an immense quantity of hay, but was got under before it extended to the adjoining buildings.

A few days since, as Mr. Bacon, the Clerk of the Works of St. James's Palace and Whitehall, was travelling near Hereford, his horse took fright, threw Mr. Bacon under his feet, and kicked him in a dreadful manner on his head. He was taken up apparently in a lifeless state, but is now in a fair way of recovery.

BIRTHS.

On Thursday evening, in Vauxhall walk, the wife of Mr. Akerman, of a son and daughter, who with their mother are likely to do well.

DEATHS.

On the 18th instant, at Hastings, in the 37th year of his age, Mr. James Smith, of King's-road, Bedford-row, son of the late Doctor Smith, of East Barnet, Herts.

On the 25th inst., the infant daughter of the late Mr. John Harrison, of Newgate-street, aged 5 months.

On the 18th instant, aged 80 years, at his house, in Warren-street, Fitzroy-square, David Morton, M. D.—"It is to be lamented," (says a Correspondent) "that the world do not know more of characters of eminence while *living*, and it is an act of injustice that they should not be held up when *dead*, for the imitation and excitement of others to be good and wise as they are. The prominent excellencies in Dr. Morton's life were—right thinking, and purity of conduct;—he possessed bold and independent principles, both in politics and religion; and was to the utmost extent an abettor of the freedom of inquiry,—of the uncontrouled liberty of the press, and of unfettered discussion. His practice as a Physician, both in the West Indies and England, was for many years very extensive; and when he declined much of this through age, and a wish to close a life of continual exertion in retirement and quietude, he still extended his advice, without a fee, to his friends, his acquaintance, and the needy. He was a good scholar, and most profoundly read;—ind fatigable in his researches;—almost boundless in knowledge;—and if his various conversations could be collected, perhaps a richer fund of information, fine reasoning, and acute satire, could hardly be found since the writings of Voltaire. Pure religion, integrity, the most circumspect morals, humanity, and universal philanthropy, marked the conduct of this very great and very good man. The writer of this sketch is impelled to make it in gratitude to a friend of infinite solace, improvement, and entertainment to himself and family;—and hopes some one better qualified will more at length transmit to the public the life and sentiments of a character of such inestimable value."

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